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other leading families in the village, adjudicates disputes, maintains the social norms and mores by punishing evildoers, represents the village-kin-community before the reigning prince, oversees payment of tribute and taxes, and the supply of manpower for corvée and military service, attends to the mercantile endebtedness of the community; by the weight of their presence and inherent authority, as well as by specific acts and judgments, they unite the community and regulate its life.

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The village is that which the family becomes if it is large enough and wealthy enough. Where these two conditions are satisfied, one might find a great tent belonging to the head of the household, flanked by the tents of the wives, and separate tents for all sons who are of age, whether married or only betrothed; the tents of married sons might in turn be flanked by tents of their offspring; and on the outer perimeter of the encampment lie the tents of poorer and more distant agnatic kinsmen, servants' tents, storage tents, baking and cooking tents, etc. Such an ideal is not often realized; a village is usually comprised of a number of related extended families, each with a modest household of a few tents arranged around the tent of the patriarch, and several such clusters combining to form the larger village pattern. In the eastern steppe, i.e., among the Buryats and Khalkhas, the village is circular in form, as are the component household

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clusters; in the western steppe, i.e., among the Kalmuks and Kasakh-Kirgis, the village is deployed in the form of a broad arc open to the south, or in a straight line.

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The family is patriarchal: authority rests in the father, the senior male in the eldest generation of the household; marriage is patrilocal, wives come into the family of the husband. Polygyny occurs, in fact it is desired, but it is rare, to be undertaken only by those who can afford it, or who undertake it in the hope of assuring male issue and the continuation of the line. The steppe family is an extended family; that is, the family into which a son is born, and the family which he raises are one and the same, and there is usually an unbroken continuum of at least three generations: one generation past fertility, one child-bearing generation, and its offspring. Sometimes, if personality and wealth factors permit, this community may even include cousins who are sons of brothers, together with their children, making four generations and/or their progeny united in one family enclosure; but this, too, is rare. Nevertheless it is a valued situation, a desideratum, just as polygyny is.

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The wife in such a family structure has a double relationship, for her family of procreation is not that into which she was born, and she retains special ties to her natal family throughout her life. These ties are revealed by the special term which she uses in referring to

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her natal kin; this term is not the one used by her husband, and is one of the few instances of sex-specific kin terms; they are revealed in the relationship between her offspring and her brother, one of the very few aspects of cognatic relationship in an otherwise agnatic structure. The wife may seek the support of her own consanguines if she is ill-treated or divorced. The rule of patrilocal residence produces an oscillation in the adherence of the wife which need not exhibit itself ordinarily, but which comes forward when normal relationships threaten to break down.

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The extended family mirrors the corporate structure of the lineage: in theory it never dies, because it survives the life-span of any individual member; it has a clearly defined locus of authority, and in this respect is a purer type of corporate structure than is the steppe lineage; it has automatic rules of membership through birth, and rules of admission to membership through adoption such that the adopted son has the same social status as a natal son.

The extended family, like the patrilineage, is founded upon the principle of unilineal descent and agnatic relationship, i.e., it is composed of direct male descendants of a given man, close collateral kin, their wives and offspring. The conjugal families of which it is formed, on the other hand, are bilateral in structure,[29] for they are

[29] Lowie, Primitive Society, 111.

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the reproductive units of society. This formulation is by no means an attempt to explain the facts of life by finding learned words for the obvious; a social fact is more than merely a biological fact. The conjugal family is not a unit of social structure in the steppe society; that is, no verbal formulation or conceptualization corresponds to what we understand by the conjugal family. The unit which herds, pastures, camps, moves, is the extended family; it may be identical with the conjugal family through losses. Again, kinship terms conform to this scheme: the father in old age bears the term for father's father; the mother in old age bears the term for father's mother: the conjugal family is conceived as an indissoluble part of the extended family. The distinction between biological fact and social interpretation is fundamental in such ideas as the distinction between actual and socially recognized paternity. In many societies, the husband of the mother is by law the father of the child, a doctrine embodied in the Code Napoleon, for example. It is in this sense that we must understand Fortes when he asserts that filiation is universally bilateral even in societies where descent is unilineal.[30] The extended family recognizes only a moiety (as Morgan would put it) of the relationships in the conjugal family.

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[30] Fortes, Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups, 33-34.

M. 182 596 T.P. 182 596 maternal kin sketched in above. Another contrast between the conjugal family and the extended family is that the former is essentially unstable, it may be broken up by divorce or migration, whereas the extended family is a permanent body, having, as we have seen, the properties of a corporate social structure.

M. 182 596 769 T.P. 182 596 769 The extended family of the Asiatic steppe is a diachronically oriented family. Such a family does not live for the present; it has received its birth, its being, its titles, honors, wealth, in short, its social position and status and property rights, from the past, from the ancestors, and holds them in trust for the future generations who will in turn honor the present locum tenens as an ancestor. The ancestors are honored and worshipped, not as genitors, those who have given birth to one, but as forebears, those who have kept the line of descent alive and maintained it across the generations, across time, diachronically. Thus the family corporeal and incorporeal property is not at all to be regarded as private property, nor even as the common, collective property of the congeners of the family. The entire patrimony is a trust to be held for the future, just as the family and lineage ancestors maintained the being of the line and its patrimony in trust for those yet to come. The practice of the levirate; the practice whereby children of an un-remarried widow belong to the family of the deceased husband regardless of who the actual sire is; the practice of adoption, of polygyny, all serve to maintain the line.

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000 M. 182 596 601 T.P. 182 596 601 of adoption, of polygyny, all serve to maintain the line. Let us leave the question of design, of telos, aside. With this type of diachronic orientation[1] is correlated--again the question of cause and effect aside--many intricacies of the kinship terminology. For instance, the son's son is called by the same term as the brother's son: the collateral line is downgraded a generation in this equation. Implied is a reservoir of kin upon whom one may draw to help perpetuate one's line. For brother's son adoption is the most common kind of adoption, and a ready-to-hand relationship exists for continuation of the line should there be no son, or should the son die without male issue.

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000 To the diachronically oriented family is contrasted the synchronically oriented family, found in the patronymic-sib societies. In families of the synchronically oriented type--and in the sibs in which they are found--ancestors are venerated and a few outstanding ones worshipped individually, but for the most part they are not singled out; they are worshipped en masse. In the matter of inheritance, there is no notion of a patrimony being held in trust for the future. While property is not dissipated necessarily, interest and concern in its retention may be imputed to an acquisitive ethos, rather than to the conception of a corporate unit as a trust. The synchronic orientation of the family of this kind fits excellently with the structure of the patronymic-sib, which is a flat

[1] [cf. cat. 116, p. 32 -- Analyst]